2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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houses, for the niche shrines, if there are more than one at the pagoda, are always at the four cardinal points, and if there is only one, as is usual at small pagodas, it is to the East.

The sadā is carefully kept by the parents until the child is old enough to take care of it himself, and thenceforward it is guarded as the most valuable possession the person has. No matter how often the name is changed the new one is never put in the sadā, so that this certificate cannot be trusted to implicitly for a man's name. Some of them are very beautifully engraved and ornamented, but they are naturally not often to be seen. I only know of two in England at the present time (1881), one of which is my own and the other belonging to a travelling Burman. When a man dies, the sadā is either destroyed or preserved as a memento by the family. A great many sadās were found and carried off as curiosities during the Third Burmese War. There is one at Abbotsford.

A curious instance of the firm belief of the nation in the reasonableness of the conviction that the planet under which one is born influences the fates and actions of one's life, is the fact that royalty ordained that the coins and measures used by traders should bear the emblem of the monarch's birthday. Thus for example all the gold coins used in Upper Burma bazaars during the penultimate reign had the figure of a lion on them, Mindôn Min having been born on a Tuesday. The few remaining from previous reigns bearing other symbols were rigidly kept out of the sight of Burmese officials. The Convenor of the Fifth Great Synod, though probably the mildest and best sovereign Burma ever had, would certainly have stood no trifling in matters of this kind, which, if not amounting actually to a part of the religion, were at any rate very intimately connected with it. His son Thibaw Min, however, notoriously indifferent to religion, if a stronger word might not even be admissible, let the old weights remain in use, and probably called it the march of civilisation.

The naming and the construction of the sadā being finished, the principal events in the youthful Burman's life are over, and the children run about in as happy a state of nudity as the respectability of the family permits; and boys and girls steal grandmamma's cheroot, and potter about

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and constitutions shattered with the red fumes of the heated mercury. Sometimes, however, men who have lost their possessions in attempting to make gold, fall upon the notion of repairing their fortunes by making money—coining as it is called in ordinary parlance. Luckily, few have the skill requisite for this smashing business; and the counterfeit coin put about is such as should hardly deceive any man who has ever seen a genuine piece of money before.

Naturally with so many people experimenting, there are always rumours of the discovery having been made. Indeed, methods are known by which the great object can be attained—with proper care and the selection of a favourable hour. One of these is quite infallible, and is so regarded even by those who have tried it many times without success. If there has been any failure it is because of some miscalculation in selecting a lucky moment from the sada, the horoscope which every one possesses; or because some unavoidable hitch in the operations allowed the propitious hour to pass. That there is any doubt about the feasibility of the process no one dreams of hinting. Have not skilled sayās exhibited the metal—undoubted gold—which they have made?

This method is as follows. On the slopes of Kyaikhtiyo, the hill on which, perched on a gigantic boulder, stands the famed pagoda of that name, grows a peculiar kind of tree, the stem of which is flattened out in a singular way, so that it gets the name of se nga-pè, from a flat flounder-like fish called nga-pè. This tree is cut down, and the trunk is chopped into little pieces, which are then squeezed in as effectual a way as the limited machineries in a Burman's household can do it. The chips are pressed between two stones; or the bullock-cart is passed over them; or the good man of the house puts his teak box on the top of them, and summons the family to sit upon it. Any way, the chips must be well squeezed; many failures are due to remissness in this respect. The chips are next thrown into a long crucible, half filled with mercury, and the mixture is subjected to the heat of a roaring wood fire. By this simple process, the sayās have obtained pure gold—a little mixed with ashes, if there has been too much of

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36 Parama nu-myu	=	one a-nu-myu, visible particles of dust, such as the motes dancing in the sunbeam.
36 Anu-myu	=	one ka-nyit-che, a gross particle, such as the dust which falls from the style, when a scribe writes on a palm-leaf.
7 Ka-nyit-che	=	one than ôk-kaung, a louse's head.
7 Than ôk-kaung	=	one môn-nyin se, a mustard seed.
3 Môn-nyin se	=	one hnan se, a grain of sesamum.
4 Hnan se	=	one san se, a grain of rice.
4 San se	=	one hkyin ywe, a seed of the *Abrus precatorius.*
2 Hkyin ywe	=	one ywegyi, a seed of the *Adenanthera pavorina.*
4 Ywegyi	=	one pè.
2 Pè	=	one mu.
2 Mu	=	one mat.
4 Mat	=	one kyat.
5 Kyat	=	one bo.
20 Bo	=	beittha, a viss, 3.652 lbs. avoirdupois.
4 Beittha	=	one tula.
4000 Tula	=	one tapông, or tasu.

The only weights in ordinary use are the mu, mat, nga-mu (or hkwè), half a kyat, and the kyat. The standard weights are usually formed with a figure of the sacred hantha on them, or sometimes with the animal representing the royal birthday.

Formerly the Burmese had no stamped coinage, and the silver and gold used, mixed in greater or less amount with alloy, which necessitated the calling in of an assayer for every transaction, was always dealt out by weight. King Mindôn struck gold coins stamped with the lion and the peacock, silver and copper with the royal peacock, and lead with the hare. The lead coins were simply blobs of metal like a spherical bullet squeezed out of shape. One might examine thousands of them and never see a hare. Mandalay

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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436 rupees, though the same size as those of the Indian Government, were not in favour in Rangoon. They usually ran to fourteen annas, so that there was a loss of two annas on each. The gold coins were practically not in circulation at all. Englishmen bought them as curiosities in the bazaar and got cheated if they did not carefully ring every one. The smaller ones, struck from the same die as the silver two-anna bit, were principally used by the king to fill silver cups presented to distinguished visitors.

Being derived from the measures of weight, the coins have received the same names. The rupee is kyat, sometimes also called ding-ga, that is, a circular piece of metal, whether a coin or a medal, and the sub-multiples go by the names of the smaller weights: pè is one anna; mu, two annas; mat, four annas; nga-mu, eight annas; thôn-mat, twelve annas; kyat-mu-din, fourteen annas, literally a rupee less two annas; one piece is ti'-bya.

454 The Burmans have no bankers. In native times there were exceedingly few who would have anything to lodge with such a personage. Those who have superabundant coin almost always disperse it in giving a kyi-gyin pwè, or in building a pagoda, a monastery, digging a tank, or some such work of merit. Whatever money there may remain over is turned into use or display in the shape of fat oxen, and silver and gold cups and jewellery. These are pleasant things to look at and easily convertible into money when necessary. Burmans detest hoarding. A miser is threatened with as terrible a hereafter as a parricide. The portion of both is in awidzi, the lowest hell.

181 454 All this sort of thing shows a very unbusiness-like, certainly a very uncommercial spirit, but it is at least open to argument that the Burman is philosophically right. He cares little for the troubles of the world and the manifold questions of the day which distract the more highly cultured nations. His eyes are fixed uninterruptedly on the dark mysteries which surround our beginning, our end, and every moment of our life. The earth is only a camping-ground, in which it does not repay the trouble to establish one's self firmly and comfortably. The rich man carries his gold and silver, the poor his last handful of rice,

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 API Burma
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When the monsoon rains become heavy and steady in late June or early July the fields are plowed with a succession of bullock-drawn implements. The first is a single-toothed harrow, followed by a six-toothed plow. Finally, the soil is gone over with a seven-bladed revolving share. If the ground is not yet sufficiently churned up, a harrow with a large number of teeth may be used. 243

A few days before the planting time the paddy seed is soaked and placed in a wooden cask, the top of which is packed with hay and cow dung. This promotes germination of the seed.

The seed is broadcast sown.* The sower begins at the outermost edge of the field and works his way towards the center, walking in increasingly smaller circles. Beginning at six o'clock in the morning and working until four o'clock in the afternoon, with an interval at mid-morning for his meal and again in the early afternoon for a nap, a sower can cover ten acres in a day. It requires one basket of seed (ca. 48 lbs.) to sow one acre. It is said by villagers that when one is experienced at broadcasting of paddy seeds, regular rows of plants result. 243 512

During the period of about seven days required for the sown seeds to sprout, the cultivators weed the fields, block off water channels, and build up the embankments between fields. About forty days after sowing, when the plants have reached a height of several inches, some necessary thinning is done. Two inches is regarded as the optimum space between plants. Where they are growing closer together some are pulled up and re-planted in thinner areas. 243

Once sowing and thinning has been completed, in mid- to late August, there is little work for the cultivators until harvest time in December, except for frequent visits to the fields to make sure that the water is sufficient and evenly distributed.

At the harvest season, the cultivator and his hired field laborers work in teams of two. One team cuts the paddy about eighteen inches from the top with small hand sickles. These tools are made of good steel blades, obtained in the Rangoon bazaars, which are affixed to handles of buffalo horn. The paddy cutters are followed by another team, which cuts the paddy stalk close to the ground. In the case of hired field laborers doing this work, the prevailing wage is 12 to 16 rupees (ca. $2.50 to $3.50) per acre for paddy cutters, and twenty rupees (ca. $4.00) per acre for stalk cutters. The higher wage for the latter type of work is paid because it is considered harder. Sometimes such field laborers are remunerated in paddy rather than in monetary wages. 243 465 436

The cut paddy is gathered into small piles, about an armful around, which are left in the fields a few days to dry. Then they are bound as sheaves and transported in bullock carts to a cleared area nearer the domestic area, which serves as a threshing floor. 243

Threshing is accomplished by leading bullocks, yoked together and muzzled to prevent their eating the grain, over the paddy sheaves. The bullocks are

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* This method is not common in Burma. One cultivator, when queried concerning the reason for this method, stated: "The land here is not fertile, and though the transplantation method would give a higher yield, the added labor cost would not justify it." [KB]

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
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243 led around in circular fashion until the grain is thoroughly separated from the stalks. A pronged hoe is then drawn over the stalks to further the separation, after which the bullocks further stamp upon them. When the grain appears to be full separated from the stalks it is swept up into large heaps, while the stalks are put aside for use as cattle fodder.

Winnowing apparatus consists of a tripod of bamboo poles, from the top of which is suspended a plaited round tray of wide weave. Basketsful of grain are handed up to a man who stands on a platform, often an old barrel or a chair, and empties them on to the tray. As he shakes the tray the grain falls through to the ground, while any chaff is carried away by the wind.

The paddy for household use may then be allowed to dry further before being sent by boat down Pazundaung Creek to be milled. In a few households the paddy for home consumption is husked by a foot-operated pounding device, or by a large, hand-operated mortar and pestle. If there is any surplus, beyond the requirements of home consumption, seed, payment of laborers and debts, it is sold to nearby millers who come to purchase it.

494 3. Bus Operation. Forty-four men of the community are principally occupied as bus drivers or fare-collectors. The latter are known as 'spares' in the local terminology. Because of the total destruction of public transportation facilities during World War II in Rangoon and the surrounding area, large numbers of surplus military vehicles have been converted into buses. These buses are owned individually or by small groups of partners. The Tadagale men who engage in bus operation ply between the village, which is a terminus, and Rangoon. Their vehicles are, for the most part, in poor repair, and breakdowns along the route are not uncommon. No regular time schedule is followed; rather, they begin a trip when fully loaded, which is to say extremely tightly packed with passengers. By carrying maximum loads, and by charging a fare of 6 annas (ca. 8 cents), the bus operators are able to make a profit, despite the high cost of fuel (ca. 47 cents per Imperial gallon) and of repairs.

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464 4. Field Labor. Thirty-eight villagers make their livings mainly by field labor. During the planting and harvesting seasons they work steadily for cultivators, either in Tadagale or in nearby communities. They are paid in kind or in cash, seldom in combination. During the growing season, August to November, and again, between the end of the harvest and the beginning of the planting season, these people must depend on other temporary jobs to round out their livings.

234 563 443 5. Dairy Farming. This occupation is carried on exclusively by the small group of Indians in Tadagale, who possess herds of water buffalo and cattle. Fresh milk is taken daily by bus, in large metal containers, to Rangoon, where it is sold for cash, mostly to Muslim restaurants. The Burmese inhabitants of Tadagale make but slight use of milk and there is virtually no market for it in the village.

265 6. Selling of Prepared Foods. The preparation and itinerant selling of certain Burmese foods supports twenty persons, of whom many are women. Because of the Burmese habit of informal, occasional eating between the two regular daily meals, food sellers do a considerable business. They are invariably present at the pwes, outdoor dramatic presentations staged during holidays and on other festive occasions.

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 APl Burma
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basis of invidious distinctions. Persons of means are esteemed more for the socially valued uses to which they may put their money, such as charity, ceremonial activities, and support of the clergy, than for sheer richness or consumption.

Economic Change

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The changing pattern of Tadagale's economic life may be described from the point of view of shift from a once largely subsistence economy to one based more upon commodity production and exchange. In discussing this shift, the general trends are best indicated if we focus upon Lower Burma rather than upon Tadagale exclusively. It is desirable to make this large area our unit because pertinent data are available for it, whereas historical information specific to the village is somewhat scant and fragmentary. The term "Lower Burma" is an administrative and geographical one. It comprises about 81,000 square miles and a population of some 9 millions, four of the administrative divisions in the highly fertile, deltaic 'rice-bowl' of Burma.

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1. Background. The trend from a relatively self-sufficient subsistence economy, with little dependence upon money, to a more commercialized economy coincides with the coming of British colonial rule in Burma. Our historical perspective thus extends over a period of about 150 years. Within this span of time, profound economic change occurred in Lower Burma. Here we cannot give a detailed account of events from decade to decade, but must limit ourselves to a brief consideration of the major trends.

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In pre-British Lower Burma, villages consisted of what might be called islands of clearance in a big jungle. In these settlements the Burmese peasants lived by cultivation of paddy and vegetable gardens. Individual small holdings were the rule, and the size of the plot depended almost entirely upon need. No incentive existed to clear and cultivate land beyond the requirements of household subsistence and taxes, paid in kind, to the representative of the Burmese Crown. Cotton, from the dry zone of central Burma, was spun and woven into cloth, and garments were made in the local community. Housing was of a simple bamboo and thatch type, made of materials available locally. The bullock cart provided transport on the relatively few occasions that it was necessary for the Lower Burma villager to travel distances that could not be walked. Contact between villages was minimized by the expanses of intervening, uncleared jungle country. In Tadagale, for example, one of our oldest informants was able to recall the period of his youth, around 1885, when jungle clearance and settlement was still taking place, bringing Tadagale into closer communication with other communities in the area. Local craftsmen provided the villagers with simple utensils, tools and implements.

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When British colonialism took over, money came to dominate over barter. Taxation was ordered to be paid in money. The Burmese cultivator was encouraged to clear the heavy jungle, cultivate more land, sell surpluses of paddy to commercial millers, and spend his money on attractive manufactured goods imported from England, which were on display in the town shops and bazaars. Moneylenders, some of them Burmese, but especially Indians of the moneylending Chettiar caste from Madras, who could enter Burma freely, were at hand to loan money in fairly unlimited amounts to the Burmese peasants. Thus the latter could finance the expansion of their cultivation. Rates of interest charged were unregulated, and commonly ranged from 10% to 35% per year. The Burmese peasant was an easy victim: he was, at first, entirely unsophisticated in money

16;Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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Such is a great feast at a great pagoda.

But whenever I think of a great feast, whenever the growing autumn moon tells me that the end of Lent is drawing nigh, it is not the great feast of the Shwe Dagon, nor of any other famous pagoda that comes into my mind, but something far different.

It was on a frontier long ago that there was the festival that I remember so well. The country there was very far away from all the big towns; the people were not civilized as those of Mandalay or of Rangoon; the pagoda was a very small one. There was no gilding upon it at all, and no shrines were about it; it stood alone, just a little white plastered pagoda, with a few trees near it, on a bare rice-field. There were a few villages about, dotted here and there in the swamp, and the people of these were all that came to our festival.

For long before the villagers were preparing for it, saving a little money here, doing a little extra work there, so that they might be able to have presents ready for the monks, so that they might be able to subscribe to the lights, so that they would have a good dress in which they might appear.

The men did a little more work at the fields, bamboo-cutting in the forest, making baskets in the evening, and the women wove. All had to work very hard to have even a little margin; for there, although food—plain rice—was very cheap, all other things were very expensive. It was so far to bring them, and the roads were so bad. I remember that the only European things to be bought there then were matches and tinned milk, and copper money

16 Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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was not known. You paid a rupee, and took the change in rice or other commodities.

The excitement of the great day of the full moon began in the morning, about ten o'clock, with the offerings to the monks. Outside the village gate there was a piece of straight road, dry and open, and on each side of this, in rows, were the people with their gifts; mostly they were eatables. You see that it is very difficult to find any variety of things to give a monk; he is very strictly limited in the things he is allowed to receive. Garments, yellow garments, curtains to partition off corners of the monasteries and keep away the draughts, sacred books and eatables—that is nearly all. But eatables allow a very wide range. A monk may accept and eat any food—not drink, of course—provided he eat but the one big meal a day before noon; and so most of the offerings were eatables. Each donor knelt there upon the road with his or her offerings in a tray in front. There was rice cooked in all sorts of shapes, ordinary rice for eating with curry, and the sweet purple rice, cooked in bamboos and coming out in sticks. There were vegetables, too, of very many kinds, and sugar and cakes and oil and honey, and many other such things. There were a few, very few, books, for they are very hard to get, being all in manuscript; and there were one or two tapestry curtains; but there were heaps of flowers. I remember there was one girl whose whole offering was a few orchid sprays, and a little, very little, heap of common rice. She was so poor; her father and mother were dead, and she was not married. It was all she could give. She sat behind

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122 for their cooperation in making the study possible.

128 The material is presented here as a collection of field notes from which certain preliminary observations and conclusions may be drawn. A final intensive analysis with the advantages of comparative data must await adequate reference facilities not available at the present time. The notes form part of a collection of Anthropological data on Burmese culture and society being amassed by the Burma Community Research Project under the sponsorship of the Union of Burma Government Mass Education Council.

128 Notes on Presentation:

1. Burmese words are captilised.

2. The spelling of the Burmese words is not truly "phonetical" (which would necessitate the use of an international phonetic alphabet) but is the way the Burmese ordinarily convert their sounds into English spelling. The Burmese phonetic system and true sounds of many of the words given here may be had in William S. Cornyn "Spoken Burmese" 1945-46 (Holt).

3. Wherever meaningful the actual translatick of words follow in parenthesis.

4. Space and time measurements and costs are usually given as recorded from the informant in Burmese terms. The glossary gives the western equivalents.

● [436] 5. The units of money used are rupees (2¢ American cents) and annas (1/16th of the rupee) written as in this example: Rs. (rupees) 10/8 with the diagnal line separating the rupees from the annas. When no annas - a dash (-) is used.

GLOSSARY

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Measurements:

LET MAH (finger-major) 1st thumb joint, 1 inch.
TA TAUNG (one-tip of finger to elbow) - 1½ feet.
TA LAN (one-distance from finger tips with arms spread to side) about 6 feet.
TA BU (one-tin) condensed milk tin a cylinder 3" high and 2.8" in diameter.
TA BYEE (one-medium basket) 8 BU.
TA DIN (one-big basket) 16 BYEE.

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Months: The Burmese calendar for 1951-52 is as follows:

TA GU - 7th April - 5th May.
KA SON - 6th May - 4th June.
NA YON - 5th June - 3rd July.
WA SO - 4th July - 2nd August.
WA GAUNG - 3rd August - 31st August.
TAW THA LIN - 1st September - 30th September.
THA DIN GYUT - 1st October - 29th October.
TA ZAUNG MON - 30th October - 28th November.
NA DAW - 29th November - 27th December.
PHYAR THO - 28th December - 27th January.
TA BO DWE - 28th January - 27th February.
TA BAUNG - 28th February - 29th March.

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Coinage:

Pice (Indian), PI SON (Burmese) - ¼ anna.
Anna (Indian), PEH (Burmese) - 1/16th rupee.
Ripee (Indian), CHYAT (Burmese) - 2¢ American cents.

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Weights:

Tical - (Indian); HNYAT (Burmese, rupee) 1/100th of a viss.
Viss - (Indian); PE THE (Burmese, viss) - 3.65 pounds.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
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227. TOWN SILVERSMITH.

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of plain gold bangles (*lek-kauk*), and their ear-plugs consist of a roll of sheet-gold coiled to the thickness of a finger. The Burmans admire a red-yellow gold with dull surface. They enhance the effect by a red colouring of the interstices of the work, in the same way as the Chinese do. Neck ornaments (*bayè*) are of several kinds. The commonest one used to be the thick roll of gold filigree, worn in front of the neck. This is now replaced by *bayè* of several chains, for the most part jewelled. On the breast is worn the broad *dalizán*, also formerly of filigree, but now of jewels and pearls. Strings of real and imitation pearls are worn; and jewelled pins and gold or jewelled combs in the hair. Rings are worn on the fingers and gold filigree buttons of the Chinese type on the jackets. The last two are the only ornaments now used by men. Anklets are worn by children.

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Gold and silver coinage on a European model was adopted by the kings of Burma about the middle of the nineteenth century—the "peacock" coins, struck from dies engraved in Paris. Rough coins of lead used to circulate. The coins shown in No. 238 are those of Arakán kings from 1500 to 1750 A.D., from the collection of the late Mr. C. H. White. Before the introduction of coinage,

238. SILVER COINS OF THE ARAKAN KINGS.

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239. GOLD-BEATERS.

circulates in Burma is three times the value of the lowest Indian coin. Notes have no circulation as yet among the Burmans, although they now bear their figures of value in Burmese.

316 Rubies and sapphires (*kyaunmyat*) are separated from the
306 sand and gravel of certain localities, notably Mogôk, in the same way as gold is. Hard gems are cut with gem-dust on a horizontal wheel driven by a fly-
[822] wheel and treadle in a regular lathe-stand. Rock-crystal is cut in this way and also on a hone. Jade is found at Mogaung and is exported to China. Amber is found at Bamáw.

306 Gold-leaf is used in enormous quantities for gilding *zedi* and images. Only pure gold is employed. The paper for separating the gold-leaf in the book in

gold and silver bullion were used for exchange, as they still are in the Shan States. Chinese gold is current in the form of foil with the market stamp of fineness. It can be conveniently cut with scissors and weighed. Travellers often carry their bullion in this form. Silver is used by the Shans in the form of ingots which have to be hewn and assayed when making a purchase. The standard for commodities, wages and rent is silver, the fluctuation being referred to the gold. The lowest coin that

240. ALCHEMISTS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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The *din* (basket) is the unit by which grain is sold. It used to vary locally, but is now standardised to the British imperial bushel. Liquids are sold by weight, not by capacity.

A bushel of rice in the husk weighs 46 lbs.
" " cleaned " 60 "

WEIGHT.

		Grains.	Grammes.
2 *hinyus* (seed of *Abrus precatorius*)	= 1 *yuddyi*	3·99	0·53
4 *yuddyi*	= 1 *pâdyi* (sixteenth)	15·98	1·06
2 *pâdyi*	= 1 *mâdyi* (eighth)	31·96	2·12
2 *mâdyi* (24 *mugwâ*)	= 1 *mat* (quarter)	63·91	4·24
4 *mat*, or 8 *mâdyi*, or 10 *mugwâ*	= 1 *kyat* (tikal)	255·64	16·96
		lbs.	Kilo.
100 *kyat*	= 1 *kaiktha* (viss)	3·652	1·696
10 *kaiktha*	= 1 *kwet* (*kwettasi*)	36·52	
20 "	= 2 *kwet* (*kwetnasi*)		
100 "	= *achkin tayâ*	365·2	

455. HINTHA-SHAPED WEIGHT OF BRASS.

MONEY.

436.

			Grains.	Grammes.
(copper)	3 pie* (*paine*)	= 1 pice (*tabyâ*).		
	12 pie	= 1 anna (*ât*, sixteenth).		
(silver)	2 annas	= 1 *su* (two-anna piece, eighth)	22·5	1·43
	4 annas or 2 *su*	= 1 *mat* (four-anna piece, quarter)	45	
	8 annas or 2 *mat*	= ½ rupee (*ngwâsu*, 5 *mugwâ*)	90	
	16 annas or 4 *mat*	= 1 rupee (*kyat*)	180	11·5

Although the rupee is called *kyat*, it weighs only a tola and not a tikal, which latter is the *kyat* used in weighing goods. The tola is the Indian postal unit of weight.

* Single pie do not circulate in Burma.